

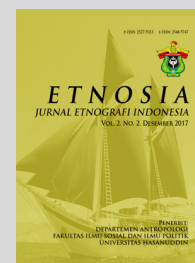
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Becoming Balinese Islam: *Bale Banjar and Subak in Islamic Village of Segara Katon, Karangasem, Bali.*

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ABSTRACT

Muslims in Karangasem are relatively homogeneous since they originate from the Sasak tribe, Lombok. The story of the conquest of the kingdom in Lombok by the Kingdom of Karangasem turned out to be the beginning of the Sasak tribe Muslims occupying 25 of the 26 Islamic villages, except the Saren Javanese Islamic Village from Demak, Java. The pattern of settlement through the Islamic Village further spreads around the Kingdom of Karangasem. Sasak tribe Muslims were then currently placed in the *catu* land which belonged to the kingdom. One of the numerous fascinating Muslim villages is Segara Katon. Some of its residents are still of Balinese origin as the result of the marriage of converted Gamongan people to Segara Katon women. Another uniqueness is the existence of the *bale banjar* which even though it has been acknowledged as a form of acculturation between Hinduism and Islam in the past, yet, it has been left standing although its function has presently begun to shift along with the establishment of the Nurul Jihad Mosque. The long history and traditions that they experienced in a relatively long time were made a fabulous social capital to survive in the midst of various changes, including being active and creative in strengthening peaceful relations with Hindus through multiple local wisdom. To be able to explore data and analyze how Balinese Muslim people in Segara Katon see themselves and their social world, field research was carried out through interviews, observation, and document studies.

1. Introduction

Karangasem is one of the eight regencies in Bali located at the eastern end of the island. It is directly adjacent to Klungkung, Bangli, and Buleleng Regencies. During the royal era, Karangasem was the vassal of the Gelgel Kingdom centered in Klungkung along with other kingdoms, such as Buleleng, Mengwi, Badung, Tabanan, Bangli, Jembrana, and Payangan (Tim, 1997/1998:3). It is unquestionably that Klungkung was the epicenter of the kingdom in Bali. The entry of Islam into Bali was further believed to

have originated from this kingdom. In some historical records, for the first time in Bali there was Gelgel Village in Klungkung inhabited by Muslims (see Parimarttha, et al., 2012: 35; see also Fadillah, 1986, 1999; Jelajah Magazine, the 8th Edition/Year 1/March 2010; Issue 12/Year 1/July 2010; the 18th Edition/Year 2/January 2011).

A historian who was also one of the elders of the Kingdom of Karangasem, A.A.G. Putra Agung, attempted to discuss the entry and development of Islam in Karangasem. Agung (1979: 2, 3; see also Tim, 1997/1998: 7-13; Mashad, 2014: 170-178; Kartini [in Basyar, 2016: 101-131]) revealed that the history of the existence of Islam in Karangasem, including the motives behind it was actually inadequate, yet the shortage could be slightly strengthened by numerous historical relics, such as old tombs, ancient inscriptions, and mosques. In Karangasem, there were at least four of the most sacred tombs used as an entrance to recognize the arrival of Islam, including the tomb of Sayid Abdulrachman in Buitan, Manggis, the tomb of Raden Kyai Jalil in Saren Jawa, Budakeling, the tomb of Datu Mas Pakel in Ujung and the tomb of Datu Seleparang in Tanculung Kecincang.

Regarding the existence of Muslims from the Sasak tribe, Lombok, Agung (1979: 3) affirmed that one of the written sources used as a reference was an inscription in the form of a *piteket* (Ina: advice) which provides information on the placement of Sasak people in Karangasem. Historically, the territory of Karangasem Kingdom was indeed quite extensive, even to Lombok, particularly when in the XVI Century, the King of Anak Agung Anglurah Ketut Karangasem ruled and defeated the Selaparang and Pejanggi (Kartini in Basyar, 2016: 107. See also Mashad, 2014). However, according to Mashad (2014: 170), the history of the conquest and expansion of the territory took place long before, notably when Dalem Waturenggong defeated the Gelgel Kingdom in Klungkung. Agung (1979: 7) stated that Gelgel's authority covered Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and even extended to South Sulawesi when Dalem Segening came to power.

The kingdom admittedly presented a place of residence for the Sasak Muslims. Mashad (2014: 170) declared that there are approximately 26 Islamic villages spread across Karangasem district. There was only one Islamic village inhabited by migrants from Demak Jawa, namely Saren Jawa Village in Budakeling. This placement pattern was accepted if a kingdom was conquered and ordinarily the rulers, nobles, and the people were often made prisoners and slaves. They were further made into *parekan* or *panjak* (Ind: servants) and courtiers or warriors that the king needed to fight if an enemy attacked or if the king expanded his territory. Those who were defeated were placed at the edge of the kingdom and occupied *catu* lands, that is, customary lands owned by the kingdom. Even the placement of the Sasak people seemed to surround the Karangasem Kingdom in layers (Kartini in Basyar, 2016: 109). A similar pattern was carried out by the Kingdom of Badung to the Bugis people in Serangan (Segara, 2018) or the Kingdom of Keramas to the Sasak people in Sindu Village (Segara, 2018).

Within the Islamic villages dominated by the Sasak tribes of Lombok, there was an Islamic village that some of its people are still Balinese descent. The village was named Segara Katon, some called it Segar Katon. At a glance, there was nothing too extraordinary concerning the existence of this village since its characteristic was almost

identical as other Islamic villages, although there was a similar Islamic village to the Hindu community which the resemblance was still artificial, for instance in Kusamba Islamic Village, Klungkung whose inhabitants used Balinese carvings or ornaments on *angkul-angkul* or the entrance of their house (Parimatha, et al., 2012: 54). The distinctive character as an Islamic village may be due to mutual agreement among those who have the same ideology, as explained by Wulandari, et al (2016: 7) through the results of her research in Sugihwaras Arab Village, Pekalongan which asserts that the environmental form of a settlement as a community product is the result of social agreement and not an individual product. In other words, different communities will present different characters.

Segara Katon is not a village that is tough to discover. From the southern end of Ujung Village, there is only one main road that goes through rice fields and residential housing to Amlapura, the capital of Karangsem Regency and from a distance it will be obviously viewed a bright green dome of Nurul Jihad Mosque which towers considerably high among typical houses of most residents with professions as farmers and traders. After passing through a small road to the mosque, there is a *bale banjar* of Segara Katon. The *banjar* building lately was not extensively used for numerous activities, except for sitting around in the afternoon and becoming a children's playground. Muslims at the moment have shifted more of their religious and social activities since the mosque stood majestically. Only the activities of the department and the village are still conducted in the *banjar* hall. According to the informant, the *bale banjar* is often utilized for campaigns in the political season such as the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) takes place.

Apart from the *Banjar* Segara Katon existence, the majority of the population in this village became members and *subak* management. Interestingly, since the 1960s, the Chairman of *subak* came from Segara Katon, and is currently led by Ahmad Saleh. Muslims who inhabit Islamic Villages in Bali as members of *subak* may have been accepted (see also Wijaya [in Putra, ed], 2004: 145-146), yet being the chairperson of *Subak* is a privilege, even Ahmad Saleh is declared as the only non-Hindu *kelihan* in Bali. *Kelihan* in Balinese language comes from the word *kelih* which means the biggest or highest. In the order of the Balinese family, the word *kelihan* means the eldest. In the organizational context, *kelihan* is defined as the leader or chairman. Being a *kelihan subak* is certainly a privilege. Even though there are special requirements to be a *kelihan subak*, one of them is to understand profoundly the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* which is the basis of *subak* management in Bali. This concept is directly sourced from Hindu teachings which signify that the happiness of life will be obtained if humans can live in harmony with fellow human beings (*pawongan*), with the environment (*palemahan*) and with God (*parhyangan*) (Wiana, 2007).

Subak is a system of managing and handling water that is organized by a *sekaa* (Ind: group) whose authority covers the area of rice fields and certain boundaries, as well as the varieties of irrigation, such as *telabah* (canals), *empelan* (water ponds in rivers), *tembuku* (water dividing structures), and other means (see Lestari, et al., 2015: 23). Nevertheless, this compromise seems to be technical, as criticized by Pitana (1993) and Samudera (1993), whereas *subak* has a social perspective. Indeed, Geertz, 1980 (in

Ustriyana and Artini, 2009: 379) is granted looking at *subak* from the technical side only, assuming that *subak* is a rice field area that receives water from one source and has abundant irrigation flows. According to Sutawan, et al (in Ustriyana and Artini, 2009: 379), in addition to social and technical aspects, it is further religious for it is based on the *Tri Hita Karana* concept as stipulated in Bali Law No. 1.02 / PD / DPRD / 1972 which asserts that *subak* is a customary law community in Bali, which is a religious social agrarian and has historically been established since ancient times and proceeds to grow as an organization of land entrepreneurs in an area. Based on this information, Sirtha (2008) expressly refers to *subak* as a concept of religious agriculture with a perspective of Hindu law, culture, and religion.

The existence of *bale banjar* and the membership of most of the residents to become *subak* administrators is a peeping point to re-read Segara Katon Village which apparently cannot be sequestered from the roots of its history. Most of their ancestors originated from Bali, so they are more convenient calling themselves Muslims of Balinese ethnicity, though at the same time they further have to live side by side with Muslims from other tribes, notably Sasak, Lombok. In the wider social world, they are closer as a Balinese tribe, in addition, since the figures and elders are from the Balinese tribe as well as their collective awareness to maintain good relations among the majority of Hindus. The liquidity of their lives with the Balinese can be discerned from their various daily activities, as well as at decisive moments, one of which is during the *Nyepi* holy day. Muslims engage in maintaining regional order and are actively involved in it, such as being *pecalang* (Ind: custom security guard). They additionally turned off the lights and did not use loudspeakers when they get the call to prayer in the mosque.

The portrayal of Muslims in Segara Katon Village as foregoing shows this research is different from previous studies. For instance, Wijaya (1986), whose research is based on history, and Agung's paper (1979). Some historical research is positively helpful for this research to get to know Segara Katon as part of the history of the entry of Islam into Karangasem (see Tim, 1997/1998; Mashad, 2014; Kartini [in Basyar, 2016]). Except for Wijaya, who explained of *banjar*, yet didn't reveal much about *subak*, other studies reported more on the history and dynamics. Specific research on *banjar* and *subak* found in an Islamic village in Karangasem has not been done much, however, this research still owes much to the research on *subak* in Bali. The urgency of this research is how Muslims who mostly claim to be Balinese have a special ability to support the value of *kebalian* by maintaining the *bale banjar* and earning great honor as *kelihan subak*, but at the same time they show an autonomous existence both with Hindus and Muslims around the village area. They have flexible but autonomous social and cultural mechanisms in faith and religion.

2. Research Method

This research was conducted in an Islamic village located in Karangasem Regency. Discovering this village is not difficult since there are multiple roads access, it is still positioned near Amlapura, the district capital. To uncover primary and secondary data, this study used a qualitative approach through interviews, observation, and document

study techniques. Studying Segara Katon Village was a follow-up study after earlier research on Hindus and Muslims who had a tradition of *ngempon* together (Ind: the community that treats and carries out ceremonies) at Bhur Bwah Swah Temple, Bukit Tabuan, Seraya Village, Karangasem Regency. The location of these two research is not too far away so that the Islamic community in Bukit Tabuan with Segara Katon can be traversed considerably easily, markedly from the historical aspect. Some secondary sources obtained from the literature tracking results can be used to study the aspect of the existence of Muslims in Karangasem. Research in the field was designed in such a way as to present Mr. Ahmad Saleh a key informant, while the document study being carried out during the research was also performed by meeting one of the leaders of the Karangasem Kingdom castle. From this figure, this research occupied a lot of information in the form of literature and other figures.

This research was supposed to be able to obtain new experiences and present them in a narrative that departs from numerous events and activities, including how the subject is positioned in a social, economic, political, and cultural frame. For instance, how the dynamics that occurred when their large mosque was founded, or how a minority Islamic farmer became a *subak* leader. However, research with a huge theme of living together like in Segara Katon is not something that is easy to describe. Therefore, in addition to in-depth interviews with key informants and other informants, direct and active observations were done in the *bale banjar*, *subak*, and mosque.

3. Research Results and Discussion

• Segara Katon and Balinese Muslim Community

"I'm still the Balinese descent. My *Kumpi* (Ind: father of grandfather) came from Gamongan," Ahmad Saleh (58) announced, starting his story. According to him, some of the Muslims in Segara Katon originated from Gamongan, an area located in Abang Village, Karangasem. According to Saleh, from around 250 families, there were around 75 Muslim families with Balinese ethnic origin. The path to the mosque seems to divide an area occupied by Balinese Muslims, the other half is inhabited by Muslims from Sasak and Javanese migrants. "We are still direct descendants of Bali," Saleh answered firmly using the Balinese language.

According to the story heard from Saleh's parents, in the past, several Gamongan people became servants even as the governor in the Kingdom of Karangasem. When some of them traveled towards the south coast in Ujung Village, they stayed in a village that was already inhabited by several people from Lombok. Segara Katon is the name given by the early residents for this village, although resided quite far from the coast, it is still unquestionably seen by the fishermen who go to sea and place boats along the Karangasem beach. Presently, the beach at the southern end of the village is getting busier than being close to the Taman Ujung attraction because there is also a sacred ancient tomb as a resting place for Raden Mas Pakel (see Kartini in Basyar, 2016: 104-105). Along with other ancient and sacred tombs, this tomb is also very crowded with pilgrims.

In the story received from his parents, Saleh told that there was a male *parekan* in the Gamongan group who were going to the beach. This *parekan* was not identified by name and then fell in love with Sasak women in Segara Katon. Shortly, they married and the royal *parekan* became a convert. This marriage gave birth to descendants of Balinese and Lombok blood, including I Madya, I Sadya, and Badyah. A Muslim man named Aliman then married Badyah and gave birth to Ahmad Saleh. The same story was conveyed by the traditional leader H. Abdurahman (80) who even had a native Balinese Hindu religion. Abdurahman is the fourth generation born from Kumpi Sibetan and Kumpi Kreped. This marriage gave birth to Dadong Rendet who was married to an Islamic Pekak Gedur from Segara Katon Village. This marriage gave birth to Riyah who later became a Hindu because she was married to Wayan Bentis. The other children are Imah, Silah, Milah, and Mustapa. Imah was married to Nur Rahmat and is Abdurahman's parent.

Saleh and Abdurahman are two of the half the number of Muslims who carry on the blood of Bali in Segara Katon. They claim to be Balinese Muslims, different from other Muslims who are from outside Bali. Although it is not like Muslims in Pegayaman (Barth, 1993; Suwindia, et al., 2012) or in the Javanese Saren Village in Karangasem who put Balinese names in front of their Islamic names, or like Kusamba Islamic Village who built *angkul-angkul* with Balinese carvings, Saleh and others retained their other Balinese identity. After the third generation, around the 1960s, the names of Bali have begun to be abandoned over time, though their responsiveness and adaptation as Balinese people continue to grow strong. Because he felt Balinese too, Sarilam (35), a farmer, as well as Hansip in Segara Katon each year was assigned to be a *pecalang* or *jagabaya* complete with traditional Balinese clothing.

Based on these data, those with Balinese ethnicity possess strong cultural genes, which are capable to speak Balinese well, engage actively in Balinese traditions and customs, establish *bale banjar*, and participate in *subak* and even become its chairman. This ability is only possessed by the early Islamic community in Bali. For example, Muslims in Sindu Village, Keramas (Segara, 2018), Bugis Village, Denpasar (Segara, 2018), Angantiga Village, Badung (Muchtar, 2013), Kusamba Village, Klungkung (Parimarta, et al, 2012). Efforts to advance the identity of *kebalian* as practiced by the Muslims of Segara Katon cannot be sequestered from their historical roots and how they perform history as something that proceeds to live, not only in the form of unconditional text. Hindus and Muslims, as Halimatusa'diah (2018) has remarked, have long made history as a cultural and structural capital to generate harmony among religious believers. Historical factors also are regarded by Karim (2016) when explaining how Muslims in Loloan Village, Jembrana lived a harmonious and tolerant life with Hindus.

Correspondingly, Bakhtin (in Rudyansjah, 2009: 42) marked existence as a process of dialogue between the actor and himself and "the other" in the broad sense which encompasses not only other people but also culture, history, and the environment around it. It seems that people in Segara Katon stretch to try to dialogue their past history to live in the present so that it can be acquired by an increasingly heterogeneous society, one of which manifests the glorification of sacred figures or objects whose stories are

deliberately preserved, for instance they perpetually say they evolve from people magic from Gamongan or because of the existence of auspicious *keris* brought by the royal governor.

It also resembles that they are attempting to establish a tradition to strengthen collective awareness by reproducing the term Balinese Islamic term as a symbol of identity. This effort may not be the same as what Irianto and Margaretha (2011) revealed concerning Piengg Pesenggiri which must be strongly articulated. According to both, the original identity of the Lampung people has been marginalized by migrants. But by choosing the term Balinese, people in Segara Katon at least aspire to emphasize that this traditional invention is a cultural capital, an identity strategy, as well as a cultural shield if they encounter resistance from outsiders, both from within the Segara Katon and the Balinese in general.

Based on this point, people in Segara Katon have further discerned that they must also own cultural identity boundaries that are distinct from the majority identity, in this case, Bali. This is according to Ting-Toomey, 1999 (in Suryandari, 2017: 23) which affirms that cultural identity is a feeling of someone to share or have affiliation with a particular culture. The society which is split into groups then performs a cultural identity in which each person considers themselves as a representation of a particular culture. In the end, the positioning has taken by people in Segara Katon depends on dynamics that transpire outside of him, for the illustration, the use of Balinese names is no longer due to environmental influences, as Sarilam revealed, they worry that the stigma of mainstream Islam deviates from Islamic teachings if it still uses the Balinese name in front of its Islamic name, or the shifting function of the *bale banjar* when they have been able to build a pretty magnificent mosque even though by way of self-help to mark their independence in the midst of relations with the kingdom. The shifting of Muslim activities to the mosque from *Bale Banjar* can also be conceded as a normal and natural shift because the existing *Bale Banjar* is no longer representative. *Bale* or *balai* is a gathering place or meeting, and in Bali, *bale banjar* is a place for residents in the same environment to carry out social, cultural, and even economic activities. *Bale banjar* became a unifying symbol of citizens. Each traditional village owns more than one *bale banjar* depending on the number of residents living in the traditional village.

- **The transformation from *Bale Banjar* to Mosque Pulpit**

The *bale banjar* building looks dull, tends to be unkempt. Some of the tiles were broken, the walls were also peeled off a lot. The non-tiled floor in which only cement plastering is dirty side by side under a building made of *bedeg* (Ind: woven bamboo). That night, some young people used it to sit and joke. Although the building was dark for there were only a few bulbs that were not bright enough, the children were engrossed in conversation and playing with mobile phones. The building is almost like no man's land. Unlike during the day, the *bale banjar* may be difficult to recognize immediately. This not so large building is located right on the side of the road and there are two fairly clear identity boards, the PKK Secretariat and the Office of the Head of the Environment attached to the Banjar Segara Katon.

The presence of the *banjar* has witnessed the existence of Balinese Muslims in Segara Katon. Before the 2000s, this *banjar* was the center of community activities to hold *sangkep* or meetings that began with the sound of *kulkul* (Ind: *kentongan*). This *Sangkep* was routinely performed, as was the customary *banjar* of Hindus. Some major decisions that citizens must carry out were customarily set out in this *sangkep*. Informant Ahmad Saleh announced his parents used to establish this bale *banjar* so that residents who are the Balinese descent still practice Balinese customs and traditions, for *banjar*, wherever they are generally, not least outside Bali, will evermore have functions in the fields of religion, customs, and economics (Noviasi, et al., 2015: 9). However, presently the *banjar* in Segara Katon is solely used for activities from the *kelurahan*, such as government program socialization, as a place for *posyandu*, and other formal activities, including if there is a campaign since this activity is prohibited in the mosque. This can be seen from the posters stuck on the *banjar* wall.

The existence of Segara Katon bale *banjar* equipped with *kulkul*, has survived since the beginning of the mingling of Muslims and Hindus in Karangasem. Wijaya (in Putra, 2004), quoting Trisila (1997) emphasized that in the past the ancient mosques of the Islamic community were acculturative, for example, there were the bale *banjar* and the bale *kulkul*. Social affairs are settled in bale *banjar*, while religious matters are lodged in the mosque. In addition, inside the mosque, there is a pulpit filled with Balinese style carvings. Several of the mosque's roofs resemble Meru, which is a temple with two or three overlapping roofs. Ancient mosques that can be a clue to the history of the Sasak people in Karangasem in Wijaya's research (1986: 55-56), including the Baiturrahman Mosque in Kecincang, and other ancient mosques established in Ujung, Karang Langko, Nyuling, Subagan Dangan, and other Islamic villages. According to Wijaya (1986), this fact proves that the relation between Hinduism and Islam has existed for a very long time. Karangasem Kingdom is considered to have a pretty significant influence in setting peaceful relations between Hindus and Muslims and paying close attention to Muslims at that time. Kartini (in Basyar, 2016: 105) mentions that the kingdom once helped build the Ampel Mosque which is located 500 meters from the Royal Palace of Karangasem.

The transfer of numerous religious activities from *Banjar* Segara Katon to Nurul Jihad Mosque based on Saleh's informants started to occur since the 2000s until now. They still leave the bale *banjar* standing as a symbol and one of the mighty markers of the relationship between Islam and Bali as Wijaya's research (1986) above. Over time, the demands of Segara Katon people began to be numerous and complex. Bale *banjar* which beforehand was the only place to conduct all activities, except religious, has shifted to the mosque. The shift in the place of carrying out activities to the mosque, according to Saleh, might be felt by the residents of the mosque construction which were performed with difficulty in a long time, gradually and self-supporting. It took 20 years for this mosque to be able to stand majestically and until now development is still ongoing. They took their own initiative to make the mosque not only a place of worship but also other activities, one of which was establishing the PAUD Nurul Jihad KB-RA/TK under the auspices of the Segara Katon Nurul Jihad Foundation.

Based on these data, it can be noted that transformation can occur. Ali (n.d: 1) considered the mosque as a center for the development of the people, while Darodjat and Wahyudiana (2014) even called the mosque as an education center to develop Islamic civilization. Both of these opinions are inherent with the desire of Segara Katon residents to function the mosque in addition to spiritual development as well as education, notably early childhood. Although not intensive, the mosque has begun to be utilized for religious studies, including conducting meetings among mosque administrators and performing incidental activities. Shifting and even transforming the life patterns of a village is something that can easily occur, whether separated or even integrated, primarily how the people in the village respond to the complex needs of their lives today. Depari (2012) when examining the transformation that occurred in Kauman Village Yogyakarta also saw the identical thing, the difference was that the transformation occurred as a product of cultural syncretism.

The results of Ahmad and Kamal's research (in Segara [ed], 2015) pointed that mosques can be empowered to build trust, norms, and networking and have two distinct spaces, both sacred and profane. Both are meant to prosper the people physically and spiritually. Even in the profane space, the mosque manager implements community development through various businesses. The Nurul Jihad Mosque in Segara Katon has unwittingly been directed to be empowered, albeit with a long time and tends to be slow. Referring to the results of the above research, the trust factor among them internally becomes the dominant force that drives Muslims in Segara Katon. They believe they are able to independently build a mosque since according to the informants there has been no assistance from the government and outside donors.

The results of observations in the field, indeed Nurul Jihad Mosque building stand quite majestically on a 10 acre land with a dome of about one acre. Its existence has now become a symbol of the struggle as well as the pride of the Muslims of Segara Katon who no longer fully depend materially on the royal castle, even though their two historical ties will never be broken. "I think the castle must also be proud because they have moved to build this large mosque independently" said Saleh who still remembers that before the 2000s they were often ignorant (Ind: facing) to the castle if there were works (Ind: events), so did the castle used to often visit Segara Katon, especially on religious holidays such as Eid al-Fitr, even when Eid al-Adha the castle also donated sacrificial animals. Although visiting relations are not as frequent as in the past, the existence of Muslims in Segara Katon remains an inseparable part of the past history between the castle and the Muslims. This is proven by not questioning one of the Muslims in Segara Katon as *Kelihan Subak* by all parties. In fact, he became the only non-Hindu *Kelihan Subak* in Bali as stated by the Governor of Bali, at that time I Made Mangku Pastika, at the Bali *Kelihan Subak* meeting in Besakih, 2015 ago. "During the meeting, I was the only one who wore Muslim clothes and had a hat," Saleh recalled the occurrence.

- **Leading *Subak*, "Retaining Dewi Sri"**

"Vegetables produced by farmers from Segara Katon are acknowledged to be considerably good quality. We are providing these staples for large markets, oddly around Karangasem," Saleh said, starting his conversation about the harvest in the *subak*

he leads. That is why Saleh and the Balinese Muslims are still able to provide rice, sticky rice, and vegetables to their Hindus brothers in Gamongan, their ancestral land if there is an *odalan* (Ind: holy ceremony) and other large events. This good agricultural condition led Saleh to become Telabah Anyar Kelihan Subak, one of eight *subak* in Karangasem Sub-District. The other seven *subak* are Susuan Karangasem, Juwuk Manis, Karangasem Dulu, Karangasem Teben, Telabah Aungan, Telabah Let and Penaban. Interestingly, until 2019 the membership of *subak* led by Saleh calculated 90 farmers consisting of 36 Hindus and 54 Muslims.

During his leadership, Saleh mentioned that he had never failed to harvest from his crops both rice, vegetables, and other crops. Other *subak* groups in Karangasem often learn from Telabah Anyar *Subak*, which is located 1 km from Segara Katon. Even Saleh is often employed as a "teacher" by other *Kelihan Subak*, especially how to negotiate with other *sekaa subak* (Ind: groups) when they find water flowing into the rice fields in the *subak* they lead is not good and begins to dry. If someone does not have emotional maturity, there is often a riot between the sub-regions if it is known that there is a *subak* secretary that is blocking the flow of water to the rice fields. Another capability of Saleh is he has been making proposals for requests for help and preparing accountability reports. Saleh's shrewdness is justified by Ketut Terpi (72) who said Saleh has the ability of irrigation management and leadership in *subak* organizations. A lot of assistance from the government has been obtained, mainly from the Department of Culture and the Department of Agriculture. The pinnacle of the success of Saleh's leadership was when in 2017, Pura Subak held a grand ceremony by holding a ceremony of *melaspas* and *ngenteg linggih* (Ind: a ceremony for a newly built temple) and was fostered (Ind: led) by a pedanda and spent 47 million rupiahs.

Subak temple or Pura Subak is a sort of functional temple, which is a temple worshiped by those who have certain professions. For example, those who work as farmers will worship Dewi Sri in Pura Subak to eternally succeed in their work and agriculture. Pura Subak is normally located in the middle of rice fields or a place that is considered sacred. The fishing profession will worship Dewa Baruna as the ruler of the sea in Pura Segara which is ordinarily located near the beach, while the traders will worship the Dewa Rambut Sedana in Pura Melanting located in the market, where they sell something (see Subagiasta, 2008; also Stuart-Fox, 2010). Each type of temple, including Pura Subak, has a *piodalan* or *pawawali* (Ind: the birthday of the establishment of the temple) which celebrates every 210 days or six months.

When conducting *piodalan* in Pura Subak, *subak* members who are Hindus carry out ceremonies while Muslims are involved in *ngaturang ayah* (Ind: voluntary work) and donating ceremonial materials as well as giving gifts (Ind: voluntary money donations). At the height of the celebration, Muslims using cap and sarong were followed and placed outside the *penyengker* (Ind: wall boundary) between the holy area and the *subak* temple profane. They are given halal food dishes not mixed with Hindu food. According to Saleh, only this time officials from the village, sub-district head to representatives of the Agriculture and Culture Service were present. Saleh as the Companions of Subak was

given a speech. Ordinarily, *odalan* which falls once every six months, precisely on the full *sada* moon or June of the year BC is carried out very simply.

Another uniqueness of the *subak* led by Saleh is during *sangkep* or monthly meetings, members of Hinduism who wear traditional Balinese and Islamic clothing use cap and sarong. The language of instruction he uses is Balinese. Saleh said Sarilam and Ketut Terpi informants were very fluent in using subtle Balinese in explaining the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* which became the main foundation for *subak* management in Bali. *Tri Hita Karana* is a concept that explains that humanity will get happiness if it is able to live in harmony with nature and its environment, with fellow humans and with God. Actually, this concept is outlined in terms of *palemahan*, *pawongan* and *parahyangan*. The three were then internalized into community life, ranging from residential homes to traditional villages. Maintaining a harmonious and balanced relationship is done to God or *parhyangan*; to fellow human beings or *pawongan*; and to the universe or *palemahan* (see this concept more fully in Wiana, 2006; 2007).

The practice of *Tri Hita Karana* is not merely vertical to God but also horizontally to fellow human beings both Hindu and among other human beings, as well as with the natural environment. "I continually read the *subak* guidelines issued by the government. The guidebooks constantly explain how to practice *Tri Hita Karana*. Now, members of Hindus habitually know more concerning the concept, whereas I invite more members to apply it directly and visibly in the *subak* according to the manual" said Saleh who in leading the *subak* was accompanied by Komang Warti as Secretary and Wayan Medek as Treasurer.

It is not a coincidence for Ahmad Saleh to succeed in becoming *Kelihan Subak* since there is a long history behind it. Ketut Terpi stated that before the eruption of Mount Agung in 1963, the initial *subak* was 61 ha and now the remaining 41 ha consisted of two *subak* groups managed by Hindus and Muslims separately. Though, after 1963, the two *subak* groups agreed to make one single *subak*, and since then the *subak* leadership has been left to members who are Muslim. H. Aliman, Ahmad Saleh's parents were the first *Kelihan Subak* after the disaster, until Karim was replaced from 1983 to 1990. From 1990 to now, Saleh led but several times asked to stop, namely in 1995 and 2000 but was invariably rejected and re-elected by all its members.

The strength of Segara Katon Muslims to become a *subak* group, even one of the members as a *kelihan*, is unusual because this ability according to Wijaya (in Putra [ed], 2004: 145-146) based on his research on the history of the development of Islam in Karangasem (1986) shows the power of good response and adaptation from Muslims. They join *subak* and obey the applied customary rules. Recognizing themselves as non-Hindus, they did not attend prayers at Ulun Suwi or Pura Subak but instead replaced them with a ceremony to dwell at the dam on Islamic holidays, complete with carrying offerings of three trays filled with fruit and snacks. Still, in farming activities, Muslims in Karangasem, in general, possess identical expertise. For instance, in *ngusaba desa* or *ngusaba dangsil*, which is a ceremonial salvation and village or *subak* gratitude, using fruit

trees, except coconut trees. The *dangsil* is decorated in such a way that it resembles a grand and full of symbolic and religious meaning¹.

Subak temple is a temple worshiped only by Hindus, while to manage it requires knowledge of the teachings of *Tri Hita Karana*, Balinese customs, and other prevailing Hindu norms. Even in leading meetings or *sangkep* in the *bale subak*, a *Kelihan Subak* is expected to use the Balinese language properly. All of these are the central bases in *subak* so that it can be challenging for those who do not have that special ability. Therefore, Ahmad Saleh, a Muslim becoming a *Kelihan Subak* is not an easy job because *Subak*, moreover, it is projected to enter the era of globalization which must be revitalized through traditional Hindu values so that it becomes resilient (Ap., 2005), and the development of *subak* local institutional capacity can realize sustainable development in rural areas (Suputra, n.d). Revitalization to institutional development based on traditional Hindu values is obliged because *subak* will face serious and complex challenges in the future (Budiasa, 2010: 156-159; Sutawan, n.d: 2-4). Accordingly, the management of *subak* must settle based on the *Tri Hita Karana* concept (see Dewi and Ustriyana, n.d; Windia et al., n.d; Arnawa, n.d; Ustriyana and Artini, 2009; Windia et al. 2015; Andika, 2017).

Telabah Anyar's *Subak* management led by Ahmad Saleh explicates how traditional and local Hindu values can be sustained. This is in line with the philosophy of the Bali Provincial Regulation Number 9 of 2012 which asserts that *Subak* is a traditional organization in the field of water use and/or plant management at the level of farming in Balinese indigenous people that are socio-agrarian, religious, and economically that have historically continued to grow and develop (Andika, et al., 2017: 212). Besides that, glorifying Dewi Sri as the ruler of agricultural products is religiously legitimator as Ahmad Saleh and his members did when *piodalan* in the Telabah Anyar's *Subak* Temple. According to Dedesander, quoted by Ambarawati, 2006 (in Sarita, et al., 2013: 214) it was mentioned that *subak* has a temple called Uluncarik Temple or Bedugul Temple which was specifically built by farmers to worship Dewi Sri as a goddess of prosperity and fertility. The combination of management and administration with local values as practiced by Saleh and its members in Segara Katon is a big capital to continue to maintain *subak* as a world cultural heritage (Sarita et al., 2013) which is preserved both in rural and urban areas (Pradnyana, et al., 2012 ; Budiastuti, 2015; Pradipta, et al., 2016).

- **Caring for History, Strengthening Integration**

The presence of Muslims, notably those who attained since the kingdom and promptly occupy the Islamic Villages has been well received, even served in the customary villages, primarily in the implementation of *paowongan* and *palemahan*, as stated in Perda No. 3 of 2001, Article 1, paragraph 4 (in Parimarttha, 2004: 37) which affirms that "Pakraman Village is a unit of customary law community in the Province of Bali, which has a unity of tradition and manners of Hindu society for generations of life, inbound Kahyangan Tiga, or Kahyangan Desa which possesses a certain area and its own assets and holds the right to manage its own household". Furthermore, Article 3, Paragraph 6

¹ (see <https://beritagar.id/artikel/laporan-khas/toleransi-hindu-islam-dalam-ritual-usaba-dangsil>. See also Basyar, 2016: 5)

(in Parimartha, 2004: 38) is explicitly stated: "For the *banjar pakraman* who are not Hindus, only have *pawongan* ties and *palemahan* in the village/*banjar pakraman* area, whose rights and obligations are arranged in the *awig-awig* of village/each *banjar pakraman*".

Intimate mixing in several traditional villages is attested by their active activities in Balinese customs and culture. At the very least, the early Muslims who came to Bali and those who were made warriors by the kingdom could easily adapt and even be able to self-control through cultural activities or the use of certain cultural symbols. For instance, Muslims in Bugis Village, Serangan on every *odalan* in Pura Sakenan participate in *ngaturang ayah* using traditional Balinese clothing (Segara, 2018). Comparable scenes can additionally be seen in Sindu Village, both in the traditional *banjar* and in Puri Keramas (Segara, 2018). The tradition of *ngaturang ayah, menyama braya* (Ind: feeling as siblings), *metulungan* (Ind: helping each other without being asked) and *ngejot* (Ind: giving things to each other when there are certainly big events) is a local wisdom that has been running for hundreds of years (see also Suwindia, et al., 2012).

Indeed, the tension between the religions of the two religions had arisen markedly after the explosion of two Bali bombings. Basyar (2016: 2-3) states that between 2009-2011 between Hindus and Muslims encountered a little "shock", for example sweeping Identity Card (KTP), primarily Muslim migrants and "outsiders". Muslims undergo a little different treatment from the public and security forces. This situation can be responded to as a form of concern that could have enveloped the collective memory of the Balinese that the bomb blast was carried out by Muslims who were trying to disrupt the harmony between Hinduism and Islam that had lasted for centuries.

The following impact, Hindu and Islamic relationships endured a slight quandary. Basyar's research (2016: 6-8) describes that the ripples were due to the majority of Hindus being told to be dominant, such as "forcing" the enactment of Hindu-nuanced local regulations. Likewise, the requirement to comply with the rules and conditions of holidays in Bali that are different from national provisions. This further causes some companies to only accept non-Hindu employees because they feel the company will not be productive if their employees permit too often to celebrate local Balinese holidays. According to Basyar, a 2009 study in Jembrana and Buleleng exposed difficulties for Muslims to find places of worship in government offices and hospitals. They have to go home first just to pray, then return to work. The same study was carried out by Basyar in 2010 which showed similar cases in Gianyar and Tabanan. The ups and downs of Hindu and Islamic relations are truly more on the economic aspect when Islamic immigrants in the 1970s began to increase and penetrate the service sector, one of which is tourism which is the central source of income for the Hindu community in Bali. Furthermore, the economic sector by trading is dominated by many Muslim migrants. The era of the tourism industry is considered to have contributed to the birth of a new pattern of relations between the two that sometimes encounters soft and hard ups and downs (see Mashad more fully, 2014).

However, learning from the lives of Muslims in Segara Katon, it seems that local wisdom that has been adopted as a guide for action that has been built since hundreds of years ago will always be able to break the ice if they encounter problems. It is not easy to sway cultural structures that are rooted in historical and traditional roots. Not surprisingly, aside from still leaving the bale *banjar* as a heritage and being an active member of *subak*, they are still able to survive and follow the rhythm of change. Based on its location, the end of Segara Katon village is flanked by Hindus in Banjar Bukit Kapas and Ujung Village, so that they also have to be consciously active in helping the security of the area, for example during the Nyepi holy day. Along the main road, they helped to ensure that no Muslim came out to play. In the evening they did not light a fire and when praying in the mosque also did not hear the call to prayer. According to Sarilam, every year there are perpetually representatives among three to five people from Segara Katon to become *pecalang*, both those who are assigned along the main road or at the Taman Ujung tourist attraction.

The existence of the *bale banjar*, *subak*, tribes other than Bali (Javanese, Lombok), as well as its many socio-cultural activities, at least has represented Segara Katon Village as a multi-identity society that in the future can become social capital to integrate people from diverse backgrounds, especially between Hinduism and Islam. This assumption reaffirms the position of traditional villages in Bali as a place for various ethnic lives. Forms of social integration that they do generally in the form of marriage, neighborhood relations, residential relationships, social associations/ associations/ organizations based on the social, cultural, economic and political basis (Raga and Mudana, 2013: 219). Pageh, et al (2013: 246) assume that there are at least five integrative factors that are the reason for Hinduism and Islam, like Segara Katon and other Islamic villages, have an intimate closeness, namely (1) they come with trade motifs so that they live in an ancient port on the coast, (2) living in the interior because it does get what is called enclaves from the king in a special area, (3) patron-client ties that are confirmed by interfaith marriages, (4) political victory or royal political strategy in strengthening their forces so that they some were used as advisors to the king, interpreters, etc., and (5) the king's victory was able to award land to settlements.

The scene that is taking place in Segara Katon must further be understood as the operation of Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Over a period of hundreds of years, how they collaborated with Hindus was carried out through various habits and socialization on an ongoing basis so that the social reflexes to maintain good relations could happen unnoticed. Thus, habitus can be stated as a cultural unconscious which is a historical product since humans were born and interact in social reality. That is, habitus is not merely natural biological or psychological innate scientific but is the result of learning through experience, play activities and also community education in a broad sense. All of these learning sometimes occur subtly, unconsciously and appear as a natural thing, so it seems to be something natural.

The continuance of high-grade relations can also be referred to as the result of peace construction in the community which Affandi (2012: 76-78) states that it influenced by several factors, including integrative climate (bridging social capital), namely conducive

situations and conditions in the community for the creation of an atmosphere of harmony marked by the existence of non-formal institutions that are incarnated in a community tradition. These social institutions or groups are ordinarily affiliated with social interests (civic associations) which in society hold a very strategic role and their membership is heterogeneous in terms of cultural, economic, educational and religious aspects. Another factor is the critical mass of peace enhancing leadership, through initiatives or leadership figures that can prevent conflict or a number of figures who possess a strong influence to prevent conflict. Furthermore, Affandi explained the practice of two of the five factors was customarily articulated in the form of interfaith dialogue which was based on the attitude of plurality of citizenship which included (1) dialogue of life, (2) social analysis and ethical reflection on contextual, (3) study of tradition- religious traditions, (4) interfaith dialogue between various faiths at the level of experience, (5) interfaith dialogue with interfaith theology, (6) action dialogue and (7) intramural dialogue.

The atmosphere of shared trust and demand as foregoing seems to be in line with Putnam's thought (1993: 174) which asserts that the stronger the network of civic engagement in a society, the less likely the occurrence of communal violence or conflict among citizens. According to him, the civic engagement network that fosters interpersonal trust is social capital. Through social capital, the community can provide mutual trust and respect for existing norms. The civic network referred to by Putnam includes formal and informal citizenship networks. Formal citizenship networks can be in the form of associations (civic associations), while informal citizen involvement can take place in an atmosphere of intimacy, such as dinner together, visiting each other, meeting in a stall, on the road, and others. In the context of Segara Katon, informal meetings take place in *subak*, *bale banjar* or when they become *pecalang*. For Putnam, the more citizenship networks in a society the more potential it becomes social capital that can help the community to create a peaceful atmosphere. Varshney also stated that the inter-community citizenship network in the form of active participation of citizens in joint activities (civic engagement) can prevent potential conflicts. Strictly speaking, Varshney stated that informal and everyday citizenship communication might be powerful enough to maintain social cohesion in rural areas but might not be adequate in big cities. Formal associational citizenship ties are needed to create inter-ethnic peace in urban areas (see full in Varshney, 2002: 287-288).

4. Conclusion

The history of the existence of Muslims in Karangasem was built by a relatively similar frame. Except for Muslims in Saren Jawa Village, Budakeling which almost all Islamic villages in Karangasem are inhabited by Sasak tribes, Lombok. However, among the Sasak tribe of Islam, there is Segara Katon village, some of whose citizens are the Balinese descent. They are more convenient calling themselves Muslims of Balinese ethnicity. This historical awareness is then actualized in life. Over a long period of time, there are traditions that they must maintain, some are adapted to suit their present life context.

Speaking Balinese is one of the *kebalian* identities that they still persevere. Besides, the *bale banjar* has existed since this village and at the same time, a strong marker of Balinese tradition has not been eliminated even though promptly the religious activities that were originally carried out at the *bale banjar* have been assigned to the Nurul Jihad Mosque. They seemed to take a position as an increasingly independent Muslim both in the hearts of other Muslims outside the village and with the royal castle. That independence is strengthened by its active role in *subak* management through the leadership of one of its leaders, Ahmad Saleh, who is able to combine *subak* management and administration with local and traditional Hindu values, namely the practice of the *Tri Hita Karana* concept which is the main foundation for *subak* management throughout Bali.

The history and traditions they inherited from their ancestors were preserved, extended, and made a great social capital to survive in the midst of change. The use of Balinese names is no longer applied and the function of *bale banjar* is to change their ways and at the same time maintain the history and tradition. They are not treated as unconditional and passive texts but as something that continues to live to meet the needs of their lives in the present. For that logic, they must not be vacuum but creative and adaptive. This ability can be examined repeatedly in Balinese Islamic idioms, or periodically present the glorification of powerful figures of their origin so that as a minority they can proceed to formulate peaceful relations with Hindus.

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